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ABSTRACT

A representative sampling of male Puerto Rican youths was studied in order to analyze post-counterculture attitudes toward family, society, school, drugs, use of leisure time and future aspirations. The counterculture of the 1960s is described, with the implication that changes brought about by this movement influenced current youth attitudes in Puerto Rico. Attitudes toward family are described in terms of satisfaction, the mother's role, discipline and family shared activity. Attitudes toward society are discussed in relation to the present socioeconomic crisis in Puerto Rico, rebellion against authority conflicts with adults, views of adulthood, religion and cultural identity. Personal problems, social atmosphere, self discipline, self responsibility, curriculum and material facilities are used to evaluate school attitudes while diversity of activities and student preferences are used to examine the use of leisure time. Future aspirations are discussed in terms of "world views," sexual liberation, materialism and future education plans. In addition, drug experimentation and drug abuse among Puerto Rican youth are considered in the context of the countercultural movement. Tables indicating study findings, a sample questionnaire (in Spanish), and a list of references are also included. (EB)

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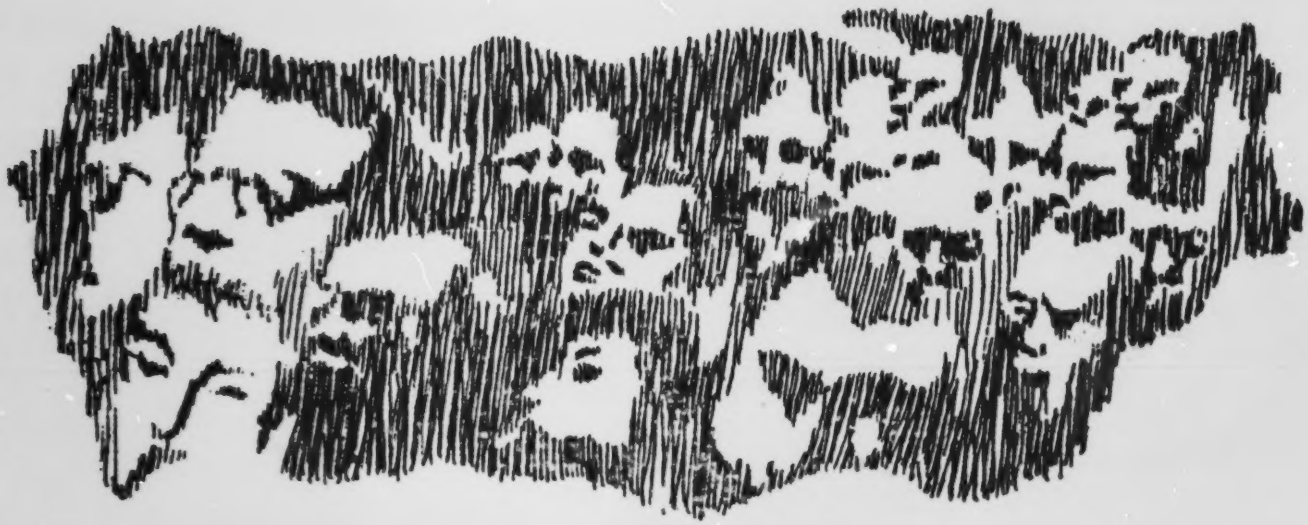
LIFE STYLES OF PUERTO RICO'S YOUTH



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CENTRO DE INVESTIGACIONES SOCIALES

UNIVERSIDAD DE PUERTO RICO

To Santiago Rosselló

¿Qué será la juventud, juventud,
que tanto alegra?
Primavera en el alma,
sangre revuelta ...

Van gritando libertad, libertad,
y están soñando
cielos que sólo sueñan
los pocos años.

Con el paso del tiempo
serán un día
esclavos de las cosas
que más querían.

"Tiempo de Juventud"
de Gabriel Hurtado-Manuel Garrido

Frontispiece: Gabriel Estevez

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INTRODUCTION

Long gone are the days when youths were to be seen and not heard and it was a privilege to become an adult. The reverse seems true today, especially in America where a veritable cult of youth exists: "Young is in", "Young is beautiful".

In Puerto Rico, a sort of appendage of North America in some aspects, the same trend is noticeable. The traditional Spanish patriarchal family where the son would say "Sir" to his father and use the polite "usted" is a rarity today. Gradually youths have become the center of attention of the family which caters to their whims. More and more parents live their lives through their offspring and derive a psychological satisfaction in doing the impossible for them. Consequently, discipline has eroded gradually and youths have become more capricious as they realize how much they can get away with. When the collective rebellion of youth called the "counterculture" occurred in the sixties, adults were perplexed and looked at the antics of their youths with consternation. But in reality, had they not laid the groundwork for it?

This study concerns itself with how Puerto Rican youth think, feel and act in the post counterculture days. The project was motivated because of concern about the abuse of drugs among the young people of Puerto Rico. It soon became clear that it was part of a movement, fad or current life style challenging adult authority and the whole had to be studied to understand the parts.

The objectives of the project were to study various attitudes shared by a representative sampling of Puerto Rican youths about to graduate from high school The drop-outs, the maladjusted or "losers"

were eliminated for our object was to concentrate on the future productive sector of the society and not on those beset with social problems. In other words, those youths who get along reasonably well at home, at school and with friends; those who function normally in society in spite of having at times, like anyone, unresolved personal problems.

The study analyzes youths' attitudes toward their family, school, society, their use of leisure time and future aspirations, that is, their life style.

At first we were interested to know if these attitudes were related to drug experimentation, i.e., if the probability of drug taking rises in youths manifesting non-conformity. Unfortunately, the hypothesis did not bear out. Those who had experimented with drugs were not necessarily more alienated from their family, school and society than the others. However, we did find interesting differences between youths of different socioeconomic groups. We found out that early exposure to drugs and opportunity to experiment with them is a more significant factor than the presence of personal problems. Furthermore, personal problems and alienation existed among non-drug takers.

The study is divided into three chapters with a brief introduction and a conclusion. Chapter I traces chronologically the events and the history of the youth counterculture movement of the sixties. It speculates on why it ended and the changes it brought about. The second chapter discusses the attitudes and activities of Puerto Rican youths in view of these changes. The third chapter deals with youth and drug

experimentation in Puerto Rico. It includes an alternative explanation of the etiology of drug abuse since no significant differences were found between drug experimenters and non-experimenters.

The study was conducted in 1975-76 among male high school students, the majority of them (87%) between the ages of 18 and 19 at the time they graduated in 1975. Ninety-one per cent of them had been raised in Puerto Rico. To make the sample more representative of Puerto Rico's youth, three different schools were selected. One school was located in a somewhat rural zone, an island town off the main highway, and thereby partially isolated. They are referred to in the study as "island youths". The other two were in the San Juan Metropolitan area. Of the latter, one was a prestigious private school catering almost exclusively to the children of professionals and persons of upper-class socioeconomic status. The other, in contrast, was a public school situated near a government low income housing project servicing overwhelmingly students of lower socioeconomic status.

True, the original hypothesis, i.e. drug experimentation behavior is a manifestation of alienation and attitudes of non-conformity, turned out to be without solid foundation. We feel, nevertheless, that the study uncovered other interesting aspects of the life styles of Puerto Rico's youth which were not foreseen. They should be useful to professionals and agencies who are responsible for guiding our youth in their future role as productive and creative citizens of Puerto Rico.

CHAPTER I

THE YOUTH MOVEMENT OF THE SIXTIES

Youth can be considered as a social group with its own identity. A temporary one in the sense that youths eventually become adults and have to relinquish their membership in that category to newcomers. In spite of a constantly shifting membership, the social group called "youth" does maintain a subculture of its own. What binds youths together is an identity of age, an ambivalent attitude toward adults who largely control them and a certain style of life which manifests itself in speech patterns, ways of dressing, music and activities they favor as well as their attitudes toward life. This is far more manifest in Western society where youths are segregated from adults in schools and social activities of their own and have no regular role in the labor market. In contrast, youngsters in more traditional societies where, at an early age, they share adult responsibilities within the context of an extended family or a tightly knit community, the differences between youths and adults are much less obvious.

One of the most intriguing forms of youth subculture in the Western World recently was what has been called the counterculture of the sixties. It first started on the West Coast of the United States but spread eventually to other parts of the Western World at least to countries with a sizeable middle class enjoying a comfortable standard of living. The appeal of the counterculture was first limited to a college student minority but gradually influenced other sectors of the population but by and large it remained a middle class youth movement.

The main features of the counterculture were a more radical socio-political commitment and new life styles. Youths affected a bohemian "hippie" style of life with unconventional attitudes toward dress, work, authority, sexual behavior and drug experimentation. They apparently rejected many of the traditional economic, political and moral values of the society in which they grew up in favor of a more hedonistic life style.

Some observers thought they were ushering in a major social movement which was going to alter our present society in a revolutionary way. Other observers saw a comedy of the absurd in the contradictions in the movement and were more skeptical about the depth of youth commitment to counterculture values. They labeled it as a major fad linked with the phenomena of imitation greatly facilitated by modern mass-media. The latter observers were more correct in their prognosis as the movement died out in the early seventies. Nevertheless the legacy of the counterculture of the sixties may have some long lasting influence on the entire society of today.

What were the causes of the counterculture? We can identify four major factors: (1) the increasing segregation of youths from the adult world; (2) a demographic factor of over population; (3) the war of Vietnam; (4) the general prosperity of the period which made parents more tolerant and generous.

Sociologist James Coleman (See Youth transition to adulthood, 1974) pointed out accurately that, with technological advances, adults have, more and more, denied to youth access to the labor market and have

elaborated the institution of education, thus schools replace work to keep youth occupied. Because of long years spent in schools, adolescents share a world of their own, retarding maturation as they are more separated from the adult world. This might be beneficial for those who need long years of training for occupations and professions requiring specialized skills but, for most, it has a negative effect of prolonged dependence. Also the protracted exposure to the artificial atmosphere of the classroom, deferring participation in meaningful activities, has increased the restlessness and frustration of those youths who don't expect to enter the labor market as specialists or professionals.

As for the demographic factor, Coleman also pointed out that the restless sixties coincided with the "war babies" coming of age. After World War II, the United States experienced a sizeable birth increase which subsided in the fifties. Never before had schools and other facilities for youths been so over-crowded. Never before have so many youths been grouped together, thus nurturing their subculture.

The war in Vietnam, recruiting youths for a war nobody understood, affected them more directly than it did the generation of their parents. Modern mass-media brought the war to the American living room as no other war had been brought before. As it was a political war and not a national emergency, it was unpalatable to the mass of young people who were better informed than any generation in America before them.

Finally, the general prosperity of the sixties made parents more lenient and indulgent to their rebellious offspring . There was no urgent need to pressure children into work or serious study as it didn't threaten

the economic stability of the middle class family.

Who were the youths who participated in the counterculture? We can divide all youths into four groups according to their attitudes toward adults: (1) those who cooperate; (2) those who are delinquent; (3) those who passively reject adult values, and (4) those who agressively reject adult values.

Those youths who cooperate with adults have often been labeled as "squares". They participate in activities of their age organized by adults such as boy scouts, sport or religious activities. Sometimes they were weekend "hippies" at least in their appearance because no one likes to be called "square". To a certain extent, many sympathized with the hippies without getting involved. They represented the vast majority of youth, even when the counterculture was at its peak.

The delinquents represent a small minority of mostly urban youths. These are in conflict with adults and authority. They participate in delinquent acts and violence and have anti-social attitudes. In large cities they are organized in gangs where they have their apprenticeship as future criminals. The counterculture was especially beneficial for them as it made violence and anti-social attitudes more commonplace. An example of this is the Charles Manson Family in California (See Bugliosi, Helter Skelter, 1974) which recruited its members from among disoriented hippies.

Those youths who passively reject adult values were the rank and file in the counterculture. From the flower children of California to the hippies, they ignored the values of the adult world without attacking them directly. Instead they tried to form their own tranquil world, oblivious of the

"hypocritical" world of their parents. Certain "liberated" adults critical of conventional education and morality and concerned with the abuse of the environment and other excesses of the consumer society, sympathized with them.

Those youths who agressively reject adultvalues were at the vanguard of the counterculture. They were committed to changing society. These were the political activists, those who organized the communes or those who advocated enthusiastically the mind expanding qualities of hallucinogenic drugs. They were a small but vocal and active minority among those who sympathized with the counterculture.

1. History of the movement

Many of the trends which have shaken the U.S. in the sixties and early seventies such as the hippie movement, the drug culture, sexual permissiveness and campus revolts seem to have emerged first in California. California is getting the reputation of the trend-setter for the modern age.

The formative period of the counterculture movement can be traced back to the fifties at the University of Berkeley, California, where students manifested for the first time political concern. Previously American students had been known for their complacency and expressed their excess of energy in silly college pranks of the "panty raid" variety. Now they were protesting anti-communist witch hunting or McCarthyism of the House Committee on Un-American Activities which was sweeping the country. Later came the "free speech" movement, denouncing conventional avoidance of crude and earthy language. The first beatnicks appeared on the scene

affecting a bohemian life style.

In the rest of the country the struggle of American blacks to assert their rights captivated the imagination of youth. Many participated in demonstrations because of sincere convictions, others for the satisfaction of being part of something.

On the other side of the Atlantic, in England, appeared the Beatles, a group of musicians who revolutionized the popular music of the period. They rapidly became a rallying point for those youths who wished to liberate social conventions and establish a new style of life. The "flower children" appeared at that time in California.

From another angle, the Vietnam war accentuated the general malaise of youth and spurred many to take a more active part in national issues. Vietnam was the "straw that broke the camel's back" and incited a series of university disturbances and riots against the establishment which started in California and spread around the country and abroad where in France the rebellion of 1968 was particularly violent.

At the same time the district of Haight-Ashbury, in San Francisco, became a national asylum for a disoriented youth. Thousands of middle-class American families saw their teenagers run away from home. It is also the period of the hippies' rural communes, notably in Southwest United States.

Two important events mark the end of the 60's: Chicago, 1968 and Woodstock, 1969. In Chicago the more militant youths who had involved themselves in politics and had backed the presidential candidacy of the liberal Senator Eugene McCarthy, were brutally crushed by the Chicago

police and political machine. In retaliation bombs and violent acts followed but diminished gradually to be replaced by political indifference. The culminating point of the youth counterculture movement occurred the next summer at the Woodstock rock music festival. Hundreds of thousands of youths gathered together to listen to their music, without violence, nor problems and all this without the supervision of adults.

Much of the youth of this period identified with the movement or at least were sympathetic with it without involving themselves very much. Those who were really committed were a minority: the beatnicks at the end of the fifties followed by the hippies and the yippies. The latter were the more radical activists in contrast to the non-political but alienated hippies.

2. What youth wanted

Although youths were not particularly articulate about how they were going to create a better world and did not discover problems that adults had not been aware of, they voiced their opinions and harnessed their energies toward four basic problems: (1) the excesses of a technological society; (2) traditional education; (3) war; and (4) conventional morality.

(1) The excesses of a technological society: in an awkward but nevertheless sincere manner, youths attempted to rediscover the non-material values of mankind. They were rebelling against the technological and bureaucratic society. The more militant participated in the "New Left" political movement, critical of certain aspects of the capitalistic system, i.e. excessive material gain at the cost of depersonalization

at school, work and home.

Youths were not necessarily against work. However they wanted more meaningful work, more creative, less dehumanizing. All in all, more pleasant working conditions with less emphasis on productivity. More time for one's private life and less time dedicated to work.

Another consequence of the technological society criticized by many and especially youth is the deteriorating environment: air and water pollution and all the damages done to the fragile balance between man and nature. They criticized the destruction of trees and disappearing species of animals and the general grimy ugliness of industrial zones.

With regard to nutrition there was a return to more natural food. Youths rebelled against technologically mass-produced canned and frozen food which loses half of its nutritive value and is laced with chemical preservatives. Because of this a new industry of natural food has evolved. Many an ex-hippie of the sixties now runs a health food store which has become fashionable in all circles. Youths showed a preference for a healthier diet with less meat and sweets and more fresh vegetables and fruits.

(2) Protest against traditional education: University students demonstrations between 1967-72 also started in California. From there the demonstrations spread across the Western World and were given enormous publicity. It is difficult to establish a general rule for this occurrence. There is no doubt that the psychological phenomenon of imitation played an important part, but in every country where students participated in violent demostrations, local problems and issues made each case somewhat

different. For example: in France, student protests during the crisis of 1968 were the result of increasingly worsening study conditions. Furthermore there was an attempt at a political union between students and workers, to force the hand of the De Gaulle Government to enact certain reforms. In Puerto Rico the principal motive of university demonstrations dealt with Puerto Rico's political status and the question of independence.

As a whole in the Western World we find an overwhelming criticism among university youths of the archaic curriculum they are forced to study. They find it irrelevant and feel that it prepares them poorly to face the complexity of the modern world. A system which leaves them little alternative but to take their place in an establishment they have not created and from which they feel alienated.

Youths wanted a less formal education, more flexible and with more time to find themselves. Also they wished to learn and grow through experience or the "school of life". During the sixties some students with degrees from distinguished universities preferred working as taxi drivers or in the forestry service rather than to enter a bureaucracy. Many started traveling with the aim of discovering their country or the world. Traveling in a simple and inexpensive way with a pack on their back, they embarked on expeditions without a specific aim. This movement of youths traveling across the world created a new type of tourism interested more in making new friendships than in visiting historical monuments. (See Michener, The Drifters, 1971) This was especially noticeable in Europe where a city like Amsterdam converted itself into a Mecca of the world's

youth. European youths traveled to India and Nepal, the famous route to Katmandu. Young Americans were found in every corner of the world.

(3) Protest against the war: the unpopularity of the Vietnam war was what motivated most youths to action. For the first time in the history of the United States, youths rebelled against compulsory military service. When the Vietnam war intensified under President Johnson, youths questioned the motive of the war and told government officials: "Go and fight your dirty war yourselves, we are not going to sacrifice our lives for it."

The movement eventually became generalized in all sectors of the population and became a world controversy.

(4) Challenging conventional morality: the United States has in its cultural heritage a puritanical and ambivalent attitude toward sex and morality. It is one of the few countries which has strict laws controlling the private lives of its citizens, although these laws are seldom enforced.

In one sweep youth knocked down many traditional moral and sexual tabus. With the accessibility of contraceptives and the new attitude of the liberty of one's own body, youths scandalized adults by their promiscuity and the decision of so many young couples to live together without being formally married. Adults were also shocked by the flaunting of nakedness and tolerance for pornography. The latter phenomenon had more of an adult clientele who often critized the shamelessness of youths perhaps unconsciously jealous for not having been able to enjoy such sexual variety in their own youth.

3. Youth's style of life

One of the most interesting aspects of the counterculture was the

originality of the new youth life style in quest of excitement, new experiences, self-expression and self-fulfilment, the "now is where it's at" short term hedonistic attitude toward life versus the living for the future philosophy of their parents.

Youths showed an interest in the non-material and non-rational aspects of life such as mysticism and the occult, charismatic religious movements, psychodelic drugs, rock music, far-out style of dressing, speech and gestures and an attempt at formulating a new value system. All this seemingly to escape the restrictions of conventional society and to give free rein to spontaneous emotions and feelings.

The occult has become very fashionable with youth. Astrology and para-psychology never had so many adepts nor had exotic religions. Gurus never were in such demand. Certain authors with mystical tendencies became overnight successes. Such is the case of Herman Hesse who wrote his books a half a century ago, Krishnamurti and the anthropologist Castañeda, to cite a few.

More bizarre was the revival of interest in charismatic religious movements, such as "Jesus Freaks" which started in California in the late sixties and spread throughout the country as well as the "Hare Krishna" movement whose followers are dressed like Hindus with shaven heads. These sects attracted the more fanatic and impressionable youths. These movements come in waves then die out and give birth to new variations.

Drug experimentation has been motivated on one hand by the search of a mystical experience in an easy and "plastic" way; and on the other hand by seeking a euphoric state: a "high". Before the sixties smoking

marihuana was restricted to those who lived on the margin of legality and among musicians and show people. Today marihuana has gained entrance into the circles of middle class youth and its use has become nearly as popular and widespread as that of alcoholic beverages in spite of the generally strict laws which prohibit its use. The U.S. Federal Government estimates that more than 26 million persons use it today. Marihuana is part of the defiance of the counterculture against the establishment. Marihuana is considered a light hallucinogen which produces a feeling of well-being. Its noxious effects have not been scientifically established as of yet.

The use of stronger hallucinogens such as mescaline and LSD was popular among youths for some time. However, the abuse has diminished because of the increasing number of victims. Also the abuse of "upper" and "downer" synthetic pills has been problematical. The abuse of strong narcotics has been more of a problem of the economically deprived sector of society and the delinquents. All in all, it appears that the youths of today have lost respect for their own body and have taken advantage of the pharmacological inventions of the technological society in contradiction to their otherwise standard rejection of artificial things.

Popular music, favored by youth, is a true barometer of its state of mind. An analysis of the evolution of music from the Beatles to acid and soul rock would be an interesting sociological study.

Rock music with its strong beat existed among black Americans as "rhythm and blues" before the generation of the sixties discovered it. With the introduction of electronic instruments, this music developed a catching and original sound. The quality of soul or emotional self-

expression is especially appreciated. There is a message in that music which goes beyond the lyrics, for it is the most appreciated North American export among world youth. This writer in his travels in distinct places such a Japan, Morocco, Denmark, Peru has observed the same response of youth to this noisy but intense music which apparently inspires them. An expressive form of dancing, freer and more individualized, has developed around this music and represents an escape valve for the energy of today's youth.

Exterior symbols such as long hair, ways of dressing, etc. were less important but were the more visible manifestations of the counterculture. These fads were imitated by many a youth who was not in agreement with the ideas and style of life of those who were committed to the counterculture. This style of dress symbolized a rejection of the conventional, the neat and the clean. It began in London's Carnaby Street with the advent of the miniskirt in 1966. It was a clothes revolution by the young and for the young.

With regards to the fashion of males wearing long hair, it started with the Beatles in the sixties. Eventually this hair style was imitated in all countries of the world except communist China. At the beginning adults objected strenuously to long hair but little by little the fashion extended to males who were not in the category of youth. It is worth noting that historically, long hair has existed for a much longer period than short hair.

A more casual way of dressing with older clothes is another fantasy that middle class youth could afford in a society where they had the

economic alternative to dress from the most elegant to the most bohemian style. The idea is to feel comfortable and to eliminate the barriers of formality. This has also influenced the society at large as the modern trend is to dress more and more informally and discard the symbols of status associated with clothes. Nonetheless there were excesses in the counterculture such as the neglect of personal hygiene and exaggerated excentricity, "the ugly was in."

The use of a more vivid and crude language and the creating of a new vocabulary was another manifestation of the dynamism of the counterculture. It was another way to break the tabus of conventional society. This has resulted in a rebirth of humor sometimes quite witty and the graffiti which appeared in university hallways were at times a sort of popular poetry.

Youth also manifested its group solidarity inventing new ways of saluting. First, the peace gesture, but when it was copied by a super square like Richard Nixon, youth changed to a special way of shaking hands copied from American blacks. The blacks to keep their own identity invented a new way of saluting to be copied again by youths.

The use of hallucinogen drugs in the counterculture introduced a new range of color and light effects in popular art inspired by the hallucinations provoked by these drugs, thus giving birth to psychodelic art widely copied in the decorations of the discoteques of today.

As to the value system or philosophy of life, this was never well articulated due no doubt to the immaturity of youth. They resisted established authority and automatic obedience trying to preserve as much

autonomy over their own lives as it was possible. They tried to extend the period of youth as long as they could to avoid falling into the routine of adulthood and all its responsibilities. In other words, living in the present not in the future; not deciding in advance for a career nor a formal marriage, having a spontaneous instead of a planned life.

A certain disdain for work was shown by the counterculture challenge to the "Protestant ethic", the mystique of American society that praises glorification of work, self-improvement and rising material standards of living, in other words, the cult of progress. Work was now considered as a necessary evil to obtain a certain independence and not the goal of life. The counterculture was opposed to personal ambitions and economic competition. The aim was the seeking of personal satisfaction: "doing your own thing."

4. Conflicts with the world of adults

Adults were caught off guard in the sixties when suddenly their authority was challenged. The first reaction was repressive tactics which only added fuel to the fire. The generation gap became more and more apparent. Many adults in good faith couldn't understand what was happening to youth and said: "They are trouble makers trying to harass us." Youth said: "They don't listen, they need to be shaken out of their complacency, we are living in a new world." Daily in thousands of families, adolescents and parents were arguing bitterly. Never before was a generation of adults forced to readapt and reevaluate its role of parent than during the sixties. Many rejected compromises and threw their youngsters out of their homes or the youngsters walked out. Other

parents tried to be as reasonable as possible and made an effort to understand and accept up to a certain point the new life style of youth.

However, a divergence of views remained on three fundamental points: (1) the parasitical and immature attitude of youth neglecting their studies and disdaining work; (2) their moral indifference to drug use, casual sex and living together without being married; and (3) the lack of respect for established authority shown in outlandish ways of dressing and more seriously, by participating in riots.

5. The counterculture comes to an end

As suddenly as it appeared in the mid-sixties, the counterculture disappeared in the mid-seventies. It was phasing out in California during 1973, in the rest of the United States by 1974 and in 1975 it was on its way out in Europe. Hippie-clad youths vanished from the public scene or became silent leaving many social observers perplexed. A revolutionary "social movement" of a decade turned out to have been a hedonistic fad.

It is difficult to explain the sudden loss of interest the youths of the seventies showed in perpetuating the counterculture commitments of the generation of the sixties. Three reasons can be advanced: (1) the end of the war in Vietnam; (2) the economic recession; and (3) the failure to recruit new members.

The end of the war in Vietnam and the termination of compulsory military service undermined considerably the motivation which rallied youths against the establishment.

A serious economic recession coincided with the end of the Vietnam war. The margin of prosperity which made many a parent so tolerant

shrunk rapidly. They were less willing to finance the antics of their rebellious teenagers. Easy access to money and temporary jobs dried up, the hard reality of life became evident. Youths became more preoccupied with their own future survival and much less committed to transforming society. The atmosphere at the university campuses changed drastically. Competition for carreers left no time for demonstrations. Group concern was now "out" and self concern was "in".

The movement failed to perpetuate itself. The rebellious, idealistic adolescents of the sixties had matured into adulthood. The first hippies are now nearly thirty. The majority of them lead normal adult lives occupying a niche in the establishment they had condemned so vociferously. True they were replaced every year by a new crop of young people, but new recruits diminished greatly after 1972. One of the reasons was that in 1972 youths were less numerous since the U.S. birth rate had dropped sharply in the fifties. The present generation apparently prefers the "system" to alternate life styles. Young people today tend to be more conventional than they were a decade ago and their goals are more similar to those of their parents.

6. The legacy of the counterculture movement

The counterculture created by the youth of the sixties left its mark on our society today both for better and for worse.

As positive achievements we can enumerate foremost the end of the Vietnam war. Much of the credit can be given to youth for challenging the foreign policies of the Federal Government and mustering public opinion which eventually forced the termination of the war. Indeed,

from now on, the Federal Government will probably be very cautious in any future political armed involvement.

Another constructive achievement is the concern youths manifested for the ecology and pollution which has now become a national priority; and consequently further destruction of the environment by those whose greed and short-range self-interest exploited the natural habitat is being watched and controlled. Sexual freedom advocated by the counter-culture movement has forced the American adults to come to grips with traditional puritan sexual hang ups and redefine more realistically the relationship between man and woman and marriage institutions. The seventies is benefiting, thanks to the counterculture, from a climate of tolerance of personal idiosyncracies and many rigid attitudes and conventions are loosening up. The same is true for dress and manners. Today's people are more natural and comfortable, thus diminishing class separation and humanizing social relationships.

Finally, the counterculture created a remarkable popular music much more innovative and original than the popular music of preceeding generation.

As negative consequences, it must be said that quite a few young people became victims of the counterculture: The immature ones, those with no self-discipline or inner controls; those who wasted their new found freedom and made self-indulgence and shiftlessness their style of life; also those exposed and influenced by delinquent pseudo-hippies who had infiltrated the group; and, saddest of all, the youths who became drug victims and ended up tragically.

These hard-core drifters ended up with a sense of emptiness and depression after having sampled too many drugs, too many sexual encounters, too much freedom. They are burned out, to them life doesn't mean anything. Their recuperation is problematical.They are the "losers". As the attractiveness of their youth faded away, they became marginal adults. According to U.S. vital statistics there is a rise in suicide and alcoholism in this age bracket. There is also a boom to the popularity of charismatic religious movements, astrology and pop psycholosy cults in a search for refuge and contentment. Luckly, it seems that the majority of the participants in the counterculture movement were marginally committed and have adjusted reasonably well to their adult roles.

In Puerto Rico we never really had a true counterculture. However, youths sympathized with the movement from a distance. It finally manifested itself in external ways with a cultural lag of about five years. Around 1969, there were sudden changes in ways of dressing; university demonstrations occurred; smoking marihuana became more common. A few communes which lasted very briefly were founded as well as a strong charismatic religious movement, "Cristo Viene", which is still active. It was a superficial imitation of what was going on in the United States, but the interest in the movement was obvious.

In the next chapter we shall see how much this movement influenced the present day attitude of Puerto Rican youths toward their family, society and school. We shall also look into their use of leisure time, their pattern's of frienship and their aspirations for the future.

CHAPTER II

ATTITUDES AND ACTIVITIES OF PUERTO RICAN YOUTH

Puerto Rico appears as a modern, dynamic society with an accelerated tempo of life, but behind this facade of progress, no more than a quarter of a century old, remain many traits of the original Spanish Antillean agrarian society. It is apparent in the family. Notwithstanding the great socioeconomic changes of recent years, Puerto Rican youths are more attached to and dependent on their family than their counterparts in North America. The emotional bonds and the influence of the family appear greater than was expected.

1. Attitudes toward the family

Nearly eight out of ten youths in our sample were raised by both parents. Most of the remainder were raised by their mothers, leaving a small percentage raised by other family members or non-relatives. However, it is worth noting that in the upper class sample an overwhelming 97% were raised by both parents.

The majority of the youths considered their childhood as happy or relatively happy (86%). The youths from the island were less satisfied: twenty per cent answering negatively, twice as many as in the metropolitan group. This suggests that urban youths have more alternatives to compensate for an unsatisfactory home environment. According to depth interviews conducted with island youths, one had the feeling that boredom and lack of variety in their lives was their main complaint.

As for their present family life, 95% of all youths considered it

satisfactory. Problematic parent-youth relationship or the "generation gap" in Puerto Rico is not as serious an issue as it is in the United States.

To assess more specifically the attitude of youth toward family life in Puerto Rico today, we presented them a series of four alternatives ranging from conservative, "Family life should remain as it is", to revolutionary, "Family life should be completely rebuilt". They could also choose from two more flexible alternatives. (See Table I.)

TABLE I

RESPONDENTS' ATTITUDES TOWARD FAMILY LIFE

Attitudes	Total all groups	Upper class	Island group	Lower class
	%	%	%	%
Family life should remain as it is	16	8	17	22
The family should remain as it is; perhaps changing some things	64	85	63	44
The family is an old-fashioned way of living together; there should be more freedom	5	0	7	7
Family life should be completely rebuilt because it does not adapt to today's life style	16	8	13	27
Total percentages	100	100	100	100

Of these "The family should remain as it is; perhaps changing some things" got the most favorable response of all (64%). The lower class group were the most dissatisfied: thirty-four per cent feeling that reform and/or revolutionary change in the family structure would be desirable; whereas only eight per cent in the upper class group felt that way. The fact that one third of the lower class youths are dissatisfied with traditional family life might reflect other socio-economic factors which affect their particular homes.

As a whole about one fourth of the youths feel that the family as it is today should be altered in some way. When asked specifically in what way, the youths were vague: "more freedom", "less restrictions"; although as we shall see, the demands made on them are not particularly hard. Nonetheless, there was a certain feeling of malaise. In view of all the upheavals which have been going on in the last years when youths of Western society have been trying to assert themselves, in Puerto Rico, the attitudes of youngsters have remained more moderate.

The central role of the mother in Puerto Rican society reveals itself in the question: "To whom would you go if you had a problem?" 30% of all youths chose their mothers in a list of many alternatives. In the island group category, as many as 47% chose the mother, suggesting that the role of the mother is more dominant in the rural areas. Their second choice was to share their problems with an intimate peer-group friend or both mother and best friend. Few chose their fathers and very few chose a teacher or a school counselor. Interestingly, quite a few added another category: themselves, stating that they

like to solve their problems alone without going to others. Subsequent personal interviews revealed that problems of an emotional nature dealing with sex, school and family relationships were discussed preferably with a peer-group friend. Those with no close friends preferred to keep their problems to themselves.

With respect to how discipline is handled at home, whether by critical comments from the parents or by the enforcement of rules, the following results were obtained: Puerto Rican parents enforce standards more strictly on: (1) hours of going out and coming back home; (2) being courteous and respectful; and to a lesser degree, helping out with the household chores. In contrast, parents were quite lenient on the political opinions of their offspring, use of free time, ways of dressing and eating home together.

Eating together as a family custom is a Spanish-European tradition which is being more and more discarded. Unfortunately so, for often in our modern world when the various members of a household have diverse activities, it is the only occasion for the family to gather together and exchange ideas. Thus the home doesn't become a glorified hotel for resting, changing clothes and other human necessities. Although this custom is still more observed in the upper class sample and least in the lower class, parents tend to be more informal in following this family meal ritual. Also the type of food eaten in Puerto Rican homes such as stews and rice and beans dishes can easily be reheated and eaten whenever one wants it rather than the type of meal which demands immediate serving.

In general the major differences found between the three samples studied are that parents of the island youths exert more control in their sons' selection of friends, how they spend their money and how they dress and wear their hair. In the upper class there is more control on political opinion and greater emphasis on respect and courtesy. In the lower class there is much less supervision of the use of free time, time devoted to study, ways of dressing and courtesy.

In comparison to the standards of the past, Puerto Rican parents have become today relatively easy-going with their offsprings. Emphasis is put on appearance and what others might think, i.e., correct behavior, and returning home at a reasonable hour. Of course, the latter is also motivated by the parent's concern for the adolescent's safety. There are much more verbal observations from the parents than enforcement of the rules. Youths enjoy a good measure of freedom and leisure time. Work required of them at home, especially of boys, is minimal.

Family-shared activities consist of outings such as visiting relatives, going to parties, movies, attending sport events or driving and lastly, going to church together. Other categories are working together fixing the home, garden or car, family discussions and conversations and playing music together. There is still another category which is a passive one: watching TV together.

This study shows that the two major activities shared most often with the family are watching TV and going to church for those who attend religious services. Watching TV together is much more common

among the island families (93%) and less so with the urban upper-class (73%). Other family-shared activities found more prevalent among island youths are visiting relatives, going to sports events, and playing music together (87%). This typical Puerto Rican family tradition using local instruments is fading away as the more modernized urban upper class sample shows; only 30% of them participate in this music activity with their families. However, in terms of family discussions, conversations on current events and exchange of ideas, the custom is more prevalent with the upper class. 80% of the upper class stated that they have discussions with their families whereas it was only 63% of the island group and 53% of the lower class.

As a whole, family-shared activities occur less often and are more superficial than they were in the past.

One may conclude that Puerto Rican youths are fond of their family and are satisfied living with them. Parents are not particularly demanding. Shared activities and meaningful communication, though, are decreasing.

2. Attitudes toward society

The attitude of youth toward Puerto Rican society is less complacent than their attitude toward their family. We presented them again with alternatives ranging from conservative to revolutionary. About 70% agreed that: "Our society is in a difficult position, and all democratic means must be used to bring about new concepts." Only 10% expressed the conservative alternative: "Our society is good; attempts to change it must be stopped". Significantly none of the

upper class sample chose it. At the other extreme the revolutionary alternative: "Only total subversion is left, if authority does not permit revision of this impossible society" got a minimal response (3%). (See Table 2.)

TABLE 2

RESPONDENTS' ATTITUDES TOWARD SOCIETY

Attitudes	Total all groups	Upper class	Island group	Lower class
	%	%	%	%
Our society is good; attempts to change it must be stopped.	9	0	10	14
Our society has been effective. However, one should consider ways to modify it	19	23	17	19
Our society is in a difficult position and all democratic means must be used to bring about new concepts	68	70	70	65
Only total subversion is left, if authority does not permit revision of this impossible society	3	8	3	2
Total percentages	99	101	100	100

It is clear that the youths of today are aware of the socioeconomic crisis which is facing Puerto Rico in the mid-seventies. They are concerned and feel a need for change but are far from rebellious against authority. Likewise when asked what they think of the Puerto Rican police force, 45% answered that the police represents security;

50% considered the police a necessity but that the local police is unfortunately incompetent. Only 5% labeled the police as repressive.

Conflicts with adults rest primarily on generational differences. Throughout history there has been this type of conflict between generations as society inevitably changes. Conflicts have become much more acute recently with the acceleration of social change. In Puerto Rico parents raised in the early thirties experienced a world quite different from their offspring born in the late fifties. Lower class youths had more hostile comments and revealed the frustrations that may arise when parents have less education than their children but "think they know better" in all things. In the upper class group the conflicts were about views on politics, sex and philosophy of life. They complained that parents showed a lack of tolerance and understanding, that "they don't listen". Finally, in the island sample, only a minority said they had conflicts with adults and in general voiced average adolescent complaints.

In answer to the question, "What are the most important privileges that you think you will enjoy when you become an adult?" the youths overwhelmingly answered "freedom and independence". The island and lower class youths in addition were looking forward to a job and founding a home and a family. The island youths also mentioned the right to vote and repeated school-learned slogans of "being a useful citizen" and "serving humanity", which the more urbanwise youths did not mention. We were struck by the rather immature understanding of the reality of adulthood by the island and lower class youths.

Freedom and independence were equated with acquiring home and family without realizing how overwhelming these responsibilities could be. The upper class sample was more self-oriented. "The freedom to take one's decision", "to be on your own", "to think as you want", "to have your own political views", "wider experiences", "to be listened to and respected", were typical comments.

Puerto Rican youths' attitudes toward religion are unusually traditional. Two-thirds of all youths attend church services. Ninety-six percent consider religion important whereas the remainder four per cent were indifferent. Seventy per cent of the lower class considered religion a great personal help compared to only twenty per cent of the upper class who did so. (See Table 3.) We noticed that many of the former

TABLE 3

RESPONDENTS' ATTITUDES TOWARD RELIGION

Attitudes	Total all groups	Upper class	Island group	Lower class
Religion is important because it is of great help to me.	52	20	48	70
I believe religion is important but it should be reformed and adapted to the realities of today . . .	44	72	41	27
I am indifferent toward religion . . .	3	4	6	0
In today's modern world religion is an old-fashioned institution which obstructs progress	1	4	4	2
Total percentages	100	100	99	99

were members of fundamental Protestant sects who have been active proselytizing in the lower classes.

Likewise attitudes are tolerant toward charismatic religious movements such as "Cristo Viene", "Hare Krishna", and others, a recent phenomena on the local scene. They are patterned after similar youths' idealistic movements in the United States. There is a marked difference, though, between the opinion of the upper class youths and the rest of the sample about these movements. Eighty-one percent of the former are indifferent to these movements or consider them absurd, and none would want to participate. Whereas half of the island group and half of the lower class youths have a positive attitude toward these messianic movements and fifteen and twenty per cent respectively are interested in taking part in them.

Interest in the occult such as astrology, parapsychology, exotic religions and Caribbean cults (Spiritism, Santería) was manifested by half of the youths, while thirty per cent were indifferent and twenty percent opposed. In the lower class sample we find twenty-five per cent very interested in the occult and twenty-five percent definitely opposed. This extra-polarity is probably due to the fact that those who are members of Protestant sects voice the objection such fundamentalists have toward occult activities. The twenty-five percent who are very interested are probably involved in one of the Caribbean cults.

Overwhelmingly Puerto Rican youths respect religion. Whether it is because of tradition or because of conviction remains to be determined.

Without entering into political affiliations, we were interested

in finding out the cultural identification of youth, as Puerto Ricans and American citizens at the same time. There is an inevitable dilemma in this duality. Puerto Rico is a distinct geographical entity with its own hispanic traditions and its vehicle of expression is the Spanish language, thus linking the Island culturally with Latin America. On the other hand, politically it is annexed to the United States. Puerto Ricans are American citizens and benefit from many advantages by being associated with this wealthy and powerful nation which nonetheless has a contrasting culture, language and temperament. There is a collective obsession in Puerto Rico about the so-called status problem, reflecting the Puerto Rican's ambivalence about the question. However, in the long run, a final choice will have to be made. One choice would be the complete integration with the United States with all its economic and political advantages, sacrificing considerably Puerto Rico's own cultural and historical traditions. The other choice would be retaining and reinforcing the hispanic heritage and becoming eventually a self-sufficient independent Caribbean-Latin American nation. The basic problem, of course, is economic self-sufficiency. Trying to eliminate this variable so as to assess more precisely the feeling of national identity in youth we formulated the two alternatives in the following way: (1) I am proud of the ties my country has with such an important nation as the United States and I am proud to be an American citizen; (2) Puerto Rico became a North American possession through a historial accident, but its true cultural destiny lies with Hispanic America.

Sixty two per cent chose the first statement and 37 per cent chose the second. The upper class identifying slightly more with the United States (70%) and the lower class more with Puerto Rico (43%). (See Table 4.) The result was surprising in view of the feeling of nationalism which has been rampant in the Island in recent years and the growing vocal criticism of the USA, especially among young people. This writer expected the second alternative to be the choice of the majority.

TABLE 4

RESPONDENTS' ATTITUDES TOWARD THE POLITICAL FUTURE OF PUERTO RICO

Attitudes	Total all groups	Upper class	Island group	Lower class
	%	%	%	%
I am proud of the ties my country has with such an important nation as the United States and I am proud to be an American citizen	62.5	70	65.5	57
Puerto Rico became a North American possession through a historical accident, but its true cultural destiny lies with Hispanic America	37.5	30	34.5	43
Total percentages	100	100	100	100

3. Attitudes toward school and education

The public school system of Puerto Rico is relatively new and has expanded tremendously in one generation. In 1940 there were facilities available for only 50% of the school age population. In 1975 with a

much higher population, there is room for everybody and the system serves about 704,000 students.

This massive effort of public education has neglected from the beginning to develop a sound vocational training program with the ironic consequence that today the Island, beset with unemployment, has a shortage of competent skilled-workers. Moreover, an ambivalent attitude toward manual work has developed. Too many students inadequately prepared, head for higher education aspiring for government work or other desk jobs out of proportion to the needs of the Puerto Rican economy. As for the incompetent students who are unresponsive to academic training, they grow bored and restless. They express their resentment by vandalism which is increasing alarmingly, and they eventually drop out. The drop-out rate is disturbing: 50% of the young men between the ages of 16 and 19 are not in school; half of these are not working. (See Junta de Planificación 1969.) Since there are few jobs available for their limited skills and they are not interested in agriculture, they are idle in the streets. Thus the potential for anti-social behavior increases.

The main problem with the public education system in Puerto Rico is not the limitation of funds and materials so often stated. It is the mediocre quality of its personnel and their lack of imagination. The Public Instruction Department is a huge bureaucracy which absorbs one fourth of the Island's budget. A top-heavy administration and indifferent teachers perpetuate an insipid curriculum.

The situation in private schools is better although they cater to

only 11% of the school age population. In the metropolitan zone, many parents make financial sacrifices to send their children to the better private schools in order to assure future success in their university studies and in their choice of a profession.

In general the social atmosphere in the Puerto Rican schools is pleasant. The facilities, although limited, are new; the environment is agreeable and the students are lively and sociable. This is a marked contrast to the depressing and hostile Barrio Latino schools of New York City. Discipline in Puerto Rico is not particularly strict. The schools are noisy and the relationship between teachers, staff and students is generally cordial and relaxed.

The youths interviewed, all about to graduate from high school, are more or less aware of the shortcomings of the education they are getting. Eight out of ten feel changes should be made in the educational system. About half of these feel a major rehauling is necessary while the other half would be contented with the introduction of new ideas, i.e. gradual reform. Eighteen per cent are satisfied. Only three per cent were negative, alienated and cynical. (See Table 5.)

The reason most often stated by the students for acquiring an education is to prepare themselves to earn a living (83%). Only 6% are primarily interested in academic studies or think of education as a means to enrich their lives.

As to what they like best about their school, all mentioned the companionship between students especially the island youth. The latter's school happened to have a vocational program which was praised by

the students. This correlates well with the fact that 97% of them said they go to school primarily to prepare themselves for a job. The upper class commented on the excellence of the well-rounded education they are getting in their prestigious private school, not only academic but in sports and extra curricular activities. They like the system of auto-discipline and auto-responsibility used in their school and had good words for their teachers, administrators, curriculum and material facilities.

TABLE 5

RESPONDENTS' ATTITUDES TOWARD EDUCATION

Attitudes	Total all groups	Upper class	Island group	Lower class
	%	%	%	%
Our education is good and should remain as it is. Any disturbance of order should be prevented	18	21	21	14
Our educational system is not bad but it could benefit from new ideas. . .	41	25	36	54
If our education wishes to fulfill its goal, a wide revision of the system is necessary	38	50	39	30
At present our education aims only to turn out docile citizens and consumers for the establishment	3	4	3	2
Total percentages	100	100	99	100

All youths had more criticism than praise for their schools. The major complaints of the upper class were about some teachers who were

not up to par and fellow students who were considered out of place there because of their poor academic performance and behavior. Some mentioned that the school was too conceited about its prestige and had lofty ideals and standards.

Both the island and lower class groups attending public schools complained mainly about the facilities: plant, equipment and maintenance. Next they complained about the teachers and methods of teaching and lastly about other students whom they felt were a disruptive influence because of their unruly behavior and academic indifference.

Interestingly, no one complained about too many home assignments or too much discipline. The overall picture derived from the interviews was that of pleasant, likeable adolescents who had not given much thought to their future entry into adulthood on the eve of their high school graduation. It seems that the school, the family and the society are neglecting to help youth plan their future. They are not helping them either in the difficult transition from carefree adolescents to future productive citizens of Puerto Rico.

4. Use of leisure time and patterns of friendship

Since the youths in our study are not overburdened with school and family obligations, we were curious to find out how they spend their leisure time. The general picture is of a diversity of activities, without dedication to any one set to the exclusion of others. Passive activities are more frequent. There are variations between groups. Some activities included in the questionnaire such as participation in political manifestations, in musical groups or in other creative hobbies

were subsequently eliminated since so few of the youths took part in them. (See Table 6.)

TABLE 6

RESPONDENTS' ATTITUDES TOWARD THEIR USE OF LEISURE TIME

Type of activity	% Total group participation*
A. Active	
1. Sports	43
2. Work	40
3. Outings	35
4. Parties, dances	31
5. Clubs and organizations	8
B. Passive	
1. Listening to music	63
2. Watching TV	53
3. Attending sports events	47
4. Studying	39
5. Visiting friends	35
6. Reading	34
7. Movies	31

* The percentages will not total 100% because of multiple answers.

Going over the various activities we found the following trends:

1. Sports: The lower class youths are the more active and the upper class the least. Forty-three per cent of all youths exercise sports regularly. As many as seventeen per cent never take part. This is lower than one would expect from 18 and 19 year olds.

2. Work: Forty per cent of all youths spend part of their free time working. The island youths are those who devote more time to

work and the upper class youths the least.

3. Outings: This category includes going to the beach, excursions to the mountains or countryside and picnics. All groups participate with only seven per cent of the lower-class never taking part. Puerto Rico is a small island with miles of beaches, good roads and a sunny climate which invite this type of relatively inexpensive pastime.

4. Parties and dances: Eighty-six per cent of all groups attend parties and dances but participation is higher and more frequent in the upper class.

5. Clubs and organizations: This category yielded a low participation rate with fifty-six per cent of all youths never taking part. This is more of a North American than a Puerto Rican tradition. The more "Americanized" upper class has the highest participation rate while the lower class the least. As many as sixty-eight per cent of the latter never attend any youth organizations.

As to the more passive pursuits, requiring less physical action, we found the following trends:

1. Listening to music: There is generally a high participation rate in all groups, for musical traditions are strong in Puerto Rico. Only three per cent never listen to music. The highest participation is in the lower class with seventy per cent of them devoting a considerable amount of time listening to music.

2. Watching TV: It is the chief activity of the island youths who devote much time to it. Nine per cent of the lower class and sixteen per cent of the upper class never watch television while all

of the island youths do so.

3. Attending sport events: More than half of the island and lower class sample attend sport events often. The upper class attend less often and fifteen per cent of them never do.

4. Studying: Most youths tend to exaggerate the amount of time they devote to study outside of school. We took this fact into consideration. However, one noticeable trend is that in the upper class twice as many youths as in the other two groups spend a fair part of their free time studying.

5. Visiting friends: More than ninety per cent of all youths spend some time visiting friends, but this activity is much higher among upper class youths.

6. Reading: Again youths tend to exaggerate the amount of time they devote to reading. Also to be taken into consideration is the quality of the reading material whether it is a pulp magazine or a worthy book. Further individual probing revealed that few except in the upper class had a collection of books at home. We concluded that very few read extensively as a pastime while two thirds of all youths read only occasionally.

To summarize the trends while taking into consideration that more or less all youths participate in the above-mentioned activities, we notice the following differences between groups:

The upper class youths are more socially oriented. They belong to more clubs and organizations, go to more parties and visit more with their friends. Furthermore, they spend more time studying. The island

youths spend more time working, watching TV and attending sport events, while the lower class youths spend more time practicing or watching sports and listening to music.

Popular music is a sort of barometer reflecting youth's current state of mind. As 97% of the youths in this study listen regularly to music, we were naturally curious to find out what type of music they preferred. About one third had no particular preference. The others, however, have a marked preference which runs along class lines: The lower class prefers salsa music (80%) with its earthy beat reminiscent of the populous street life of certain barrios of San Juan and New York. The upper class favors American rock and soul music (73%) which with its loud and intense sound has become an international bond of solidarity between the modern young people of the world. Both musics are highly danceable. The island youths showed a more traditional taste leaning toward the more sentimental popular latin songs. These are heard more frequently on island radio stations than in the metropolitan zone. All groups chose Danny Rivera way above anyone else as their favorite Puerto Rican artist. As a whole, there was a preference for Puerto Rican music.

Finally we were interested in finding out with whom the young people were spending their leisure time, their preference of companionship and their patterns of friendship.

Two-thirds of all youths spend their free time with both their family and friends. Ten per cent of the island and lower class youths prefer being exclusively with their family and relatives. While in the upper class, none did. The latter favored the company of their friends to that of their family twice as often as the other youths. Perhaps the

traditions of the past linger more in the island group and in the lower class. In the past, social functions in Puerto Rico took place nearly exclusively within the extended family. In the upper class, the custom has changed more radically and social activities tend to expand beyond the family.

With respect to socializing outside the family, fifty-four per cent of the upper-class youths do not mind spending time with more mature adults whereas two-thirds of the others had a marked preference for being with people of their own age. This leads us to believe that the so-called age-group segregation is less strong in the upper class or that perhaps they have more opportunities to intermingle with adults.

As to patterns of friendship, the exclusive type of friendship with a "best friend" and or a "girl friend" is more prevalent in urban youths especially in the upper class. Whereas eight out of ten of the island youths have good friendships with various boys and girls and show more of a "groupie" pattern. Relationships with girls are still rather formal in spite of having changed considerably in the last decade. Dating "American style" is still not so common in Puerto Rico, at least among high school students.

We were generally impressed by the physical appearance of the youths studied. They are relatively tall, slim and healthy looking in contrast to their parents who are shorter and heavier. They are neatly dressed, their hair is groomed in the latest style without sporting exaggerated "afros" or stringy shoulder length hair. They wear casual tropical clothes with a flair for style. We saw few outrageous colors,

high platform shoes or funny hats of the "super cool" variety associated with New York neo-Ricans. There were no significant differences between the three groups and it would have been difficult to separate them by social class as far as their exterior appearance was concerned.

5. Aspirations for the future

Finally we tried to assess some of the values of our youths and their aspirations for the future to see if they had developed some kind of a philosophy of life to guide them. The "world view" of our youth appeared rather limited, insular and immature for their age although fifty per cent of them had traveled off the Island, some having lived out of Puerto Rico. We were especially interested in two questions: their views on sexual liberation and whether or not they had a materialistic orientation to life.

The ideal of sexual liberty has been adopted and practiced since the sixties among the emancipated youth of the Western World. While other manifestations of the counterculture have faded away, the sexual revolution appears as a more permanent trend. In Latin cultures it is not so easy to sweep aside centuries of strong beliefs glorifying manhood. This has resulted in the machismo-virginity complex inherited possibly from medieval Moslem Spain. Machismo has survived as a cultural lag in Latin America whereas it has loosened up considerably in Southern Europe. Puerto Rico inherited the tradition, but being subjected more directly than other Latin American countries to dissimilar North American values, the machismo-virginity complex is being altered. We found, nonetheless, that forty-five per cent of our 18 and 19 years old youths still uphold

the traditional belief that "there are two types of women: one who is to be respected, who will become one's wife and the other, to have fun with but who is unacceptable as a marriage partner." The island youth were the most conservative with sixty per cent choosing that option. Another forty-five per cent of all youths took a more modern attitude, believing that a woman has the liberty of her own body but once married must be faithful to her husband. Sixty per cent of the urban lower class chose that alternative. Finally, ten per cent of all youths but up to twenty-one per cent of the upper class youths chose the very liberal attitude that: "Today women as well as men have the right to the freedom of their own body even though they are married or living together, because this freedom in the long run does not affect love and understanding between two mature human beings and is more compatible with physiological drives." It seems that Puerto Rican youths are not as "liberated" as American youths on the subject of sexual freedom but that the over emphasis on manhood or machismo is gradually fading away.

Puerto Ricans have often been critized for being very materialistic and for being a consumer-oriented society obsessed with acquisitions. This does not bear out as far as our youths are concerned. Sixty per cent aspire to moderate material well-being preferring a satisfying job rather than suffering the stress needed to achieve a high standard of living. Twenty three per cent have a "hippy" outlook, wanting just the bare necessities and plenty of free time to do their "own thing." Fifteen per cent opted for the rewards of a material society, i.e., a brand new car, a luxurious dwelling; and they seem willing to pay the price

for it. Could this reflect the fact that our youth is not particularly ambitious and prefers an easy going life? Nonetheless, eight out of ten agreed that it is more important to make some sacrifice in the present to realize future aspirations than to live for the pleasure of the moment without planning for the future. Few displayed a hedonistic attitude.

As for the future, all had plans upon graduation from high school. A surprising number of them aspire to go on to a university: Ninety-six per cent of the upper class, sixty per cent of the island youths and forty-seven per cent of the lower class, that is, a total of sixty-eight per cent of all youths mentioned university studies as a first choice. Only nineteen per cent aimed at vocational or technical education, while eighteen per cent mentioned looking for work as their first alternative.

The level of optimism is high. Eighty-five per cent feel they have a good or very good chance to realize their plans including all of the upper class and three-fourths of the lower class. Only fifteen per cent had an expectation of frustration. This is unfortunately over optimistic in view of the high rate of unemployment and the current discouraging economic trend in Puerto Rico. The overwhelming aspiration for a university education does not correspond with the actual needs of the society. How can Puerto Rico with its limited size and market absorb sixty-eight per cent of its youth in professional, managerial and government employments? Many will be denied university admission or will fail and drop out before graduating. Thus they will be left in mid-air with little skills to compete in the job market in harmony with their occupational preference. Others will be forced to migrate to the

United States and exercize elsewhere the skills acquired at the cost of the Puerto Rican Government. Others will inflate the bureaucracy of the government which tends to absorb college graduates. Meanwhile vocational and technical jobs go abegging for people who can do them well, and agriculture is gradually being abandoned.

We predict some of our young men will be in for a rude awakening when they find this out for themselves. We cannot help but sympathize with them for it is the duty of the family, school and society to better orient its youth and assess realistically the possibilities which the future has in store for them. Puerto Rico is not the only country with this basic problem.

CHAPTER III

YOUTH AND DRUG EXPERIMENTATION IN PUERTO RICO

Experimenting with soft drugs can be considered now as part of the life style of today's youth. The term used here is experimentation and we wish to establish the difference between drug experimentation, use, abuse, and addiction.

Drug experimentation refers to the casual use of a drug once or a few times followed by discontinuation, or the very sporadic use of a substance for its euphoric effects. Drug use refers generally to the legal use of drugs for therapeutic purposes but it also refers to the usage of a drug for non-medical purposes implying a controlled usage rather than an abuse. Drug abuse means the continuous use of such drugs because they represent a reward. It is a first step toward addiction. Addiction refers to the prolonged abuse of a drug which has caused the individual to become dependent on such drug for his physiological and psychological well-being. In other words, the addicted person cannot function adequately without the regular use of such drugs. However, the addicts represent a small percentage of all those who employ drugs.

This study deals with the phenomenon of experimentation. Our sample of youths is supposedly an adjusted group. None of them have dropped out of school or have come to the attention of agencies because of personal or social pathologies. None of them have experimented with hard drugs. The use of hard drugs such as heroin is a phenomenon found mostly among deprived social groups. When heroin abuse occurs in the

middle or upper class, it is generally the act of a marginal individual suffering from maladjustment. This study does not concern itself with abusers of hard drugs for they inevitably abandon school as their drug abuse gets the better of them.

1. Background of drug abuse in Puerto Rico

Puerto Rico is not a drug free environment. Quite the contrary, the problem of drug abuse is considered serious in view of the large number of youths involved (See Wingfield, 1973, El Problema de la dependencia y abuso de las drogas en Puerto Rico) and the fact that twenty years ago the problem was practically non-existent.

It is thought that the problem of drug abuse spread so rapidly in Puerto Rico because of its strong ties with the city of New York which has, in contrast to Puerto Rico, a long tradition of drug abuse. In the fifties, many poor migrants from Puerto Rico went to live in New York slums where the rate of drug abuse has always been high. It is a known fact that it is the addicts themselves who spread the habit and that drug abuse is a highly contagious phenomenon. Drug abuse eventually made its ravages among these poor migrants. As there is a continuous back and forth flow of population between New York and Puerto Rico some migrants returned to the Island with the drug habit and formed new foci of infection which developed rapidly here.

We can summarize the unique characteristics of drug abuse in Puerto Rico in the following five statements: (1) drug abuse is a new social problem, only about twenty years old; (2) as such, it has grown

extremely rapidly; (3) the Puerto Rican drug abuser seems to be younger than his counterpart in the United States; (4) so far Puerto Rico is the only island in the Caribbean with a serious drug problem; (5) Puerto Rico has addicts not only in the cities but also in small towns throughout the Island, whereas in other countries it is generally a metropolitan problem. The last two statements are added evidence of the New York origin of the problem.

2. Experimenting with drugs

Puerto Rico is perhaps not very different from other countries in the sense that most of its youths have never had anything to do with drugs. Among those who have been initiated to drugs, the majority, by far, like the youth of Europe and North America, can be considered experimenters or, at most, casual users. A minority are drug abusers and much less than 1% of the total population are addicted. Some experts feel that perhaps too much alarm has been generated about a problem which affects a relatively small fraction of the society.

That adolescent youths have a greater propensity to risk taking and a greater tendency to rebelliousness are well established facts. With their increasing non-conformity brought about by the counterculture movement, the probability of drug taking rises. As was mentioned before, it is considered more and more within the bounds of normal behavior for youths of today to have experimented at least once with a soft drug such a marihuana.

In Puerto Rico which is not as avant-garde in its social thinking

as California and the Northeast Coast, we faced the problem of obtaining true statements from our respondents with regards to their drug experience. The question was worded in a way to make the respondent feel that he was not an exception, i.e.: "It is said that in Puerto Rico, the majority of youths have experimented at one occasion or another with drugs. Thinking of your particular case, with which of the following drugs have you experimented?" In spite of this and the anonymity of the questionnaire only twenty eight per cent admitted having experimented with drugs though we suspect the percentage was most likely higher.

Those who had experimented with drugs included forty-two per cent of the lower class sample, thirty-one per cent of the upper class and only seven per cent of the island youths, averaging a total of twenty eight per cent. This is less than similar surveys done in the United States where among high school students around fifty per cent are said to have been found to be experimenters.

As to the type of drug used, the upper class and island sample had only experimented with marihuana. The lower class had all used marihuana and in addition thirteen per cent had used metaqualone (sopor) and three cent LSD and cocaine.

Marihuana was the first drug experienced by all. The majority (80%) had tried it for the first time at age sixteen and seventeen. Sixteen per cent of the lower class drug users started at age fifteen.

Sixty-four per cent had smoked marihuana more than once. The difference between groups was noticeable: One hundred per cent of

the island group said they smoked only once, in contrast to twenty-five per cent of the upper class and twenty per cent of the lower class group. The latter were the only ones who said they smoked often (13%).

We conclude that sampling marihuana is still a novelty among island high school youths, whereas it is much more common in the metropolitan area especially in the lower class.

3. Attitudes toward drug taking

Attitudes toward drug taking were more conservative than was expected. Eighty-one per cent of those who had never tried drugs stated they would refuse to try marihuana even if they had an appropriate opportunity. The rest of them were not sure. Nearly thirty per cent of the upper class and twenty-two per cent of the lower class, whereas only eight per cent of the island youths said they might yield. We expected the degree of curiosity to be higher.

Attitudes toward persons who smoke marihuana were also conservative with seventy-two per cent objecting in various degrees and twenty per cent being tolerant or approving. Eighty-six per cent of the island group objected to persons smoking marihuana whereas two thirds of both urban groups did so. It is interesting to note again the variance in attitudes between urban and rural Puerto Rican youths. (See Table 7.)

4. Differences between drug experimenters and non-experimenters

Originally the hypothesis of this study was that there is a difference in attitudes and behavior between those youths who have

TABLE 7

RESPONDENTS' ATTITUDES TOWARD SMOKING MARIHUANA

Attitudes	Total all groups	Upper class	Island group	Lower class
	%	%	%	%
1. I am opposed to the use of marihuana under any circumstances.	45	31	63	41
2. Marihuana is for weak persons who cannot face their problems	27	35	23	25
3. Although I wouldn't smoke marihuana, I do not mind if my friends do so.	6	8	7	5
4. To smoke marihuana at a party now and then is part of the life style of todays's youths.	14	23	0	18
5. Let people smoke marihuana and "pop" pills as much as they want. That's their business	8	4	7	11
Total percentages	100	101	100	100

experimented with drugs and those who had not. Stating it more explicitly: Is there a variance in attitudes toward family, school, society, use of leisure time and future aspirations between youths who have experimented with drugs and those who have not? Are those who use drugs more alienated from their families, school and society? Are they less occupied and their future aspirations less defined? Are there other differences between those youths (28%) who have experimented

with drugs and the remaining others (72%)?

Unfortunately for our hypothesis we found no significant differences. Nor do we find more personal problems, single parent homes, negative rebellious attitudes between drug takers and non-takers. Whatever significant differences we found have been between class groups, i.e., upper versus lower class and urban versus rural youths. This class factor gave a different orientation to the whole study and raised some interesting questions.

Studying in more details the way drug experimenters and non-experimenters answered questions dealing with alienation, rebellion, cynicism, disatisfaction with home situation, society and school or other negative attitudes, again we found insignificent differences. Only in one question dealing with hedonism did we find that those who have experimented with drugs tend to be more hedonistic, 26% versus 10%. (See Table 8.)

TABLE 3

HEDONISTIC ATTITUDE BETWEEN DRUG EXPERIMENTERS AND NON-EXPERIMENTERS

Attitude	Non-drug takers	Drug takers
	%	%
It is more important to live and enjoy the present without planning too much for the future.	10	26
It is more important to make some sacrifices in the present in order to achieve future aspirations	90	74
Total percentages	100	100

Yet three fourths of those who have experimented with drugs have a non-hedonistic attitude toward life and believe in making sacrifice in the present to achieve future aspirations.

We conclude that there is no correlation as far as our sample is concerned between drug experimenting and negative life attitudes. Should such differences exist, they are latent, subtle and difficult to reveal and subject to many other variables not necessarily related to drug behavior. Therefore the original hypothesis of this study does not hold, and another explanation is necessary. Hence we will now present an alternative interpretation: Drug experimentation is not necessarily the result of socio-psychological problems but responds to other factors which are not usually considered abnormal.

5. An alternative explanation of the etiology of drug abuse

Although much is known about the effects of drugs, the abuser himself remains an enigma. There are two principal theories. The first one is that drug abuse is a manifestation of individual pathology due in part to adverse social conditions. This theory is favored by psychologists. The second theory, more recent and not as widely accepted as the first is favored mainly by physicians and some sociologists. It is an epidemiological theory and states that drug abuse is very contagious and spreads rapidly from one person to another; that it is not necessarily the result of personal problems or social pathology but responds to other factors which are not usually considered abnormal.

The first theory, stressing psychological pathology, is valid

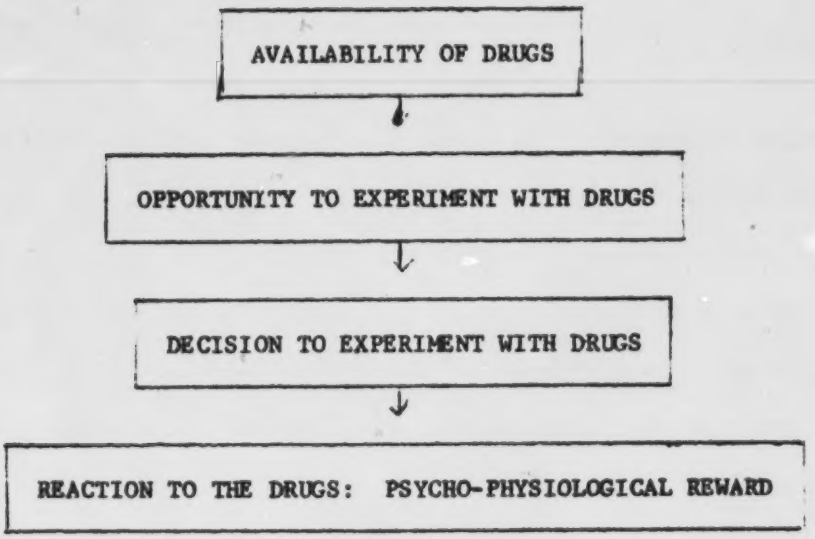
in areas or in groups where drug abuse is not very extensive or just beginning. It seems that the first individuals to experiment with drugs in such cases are the more reckless and rebellious, those who are less sensitive to social conventions or those who operate already on the margin of legality. It would also include individuals with personality disorders, those with psychological problems, and the deviants: delinquents and psychopaths.

However, where drug abuse is widespread, it is not restricted to the maladjusted, but includes apparently normal individuals who do not have major personality disorders, psychological problems nor could they be considered deviants outside of their drug behavior. A recent study using 5,000 American soldiers revealed that there was very little difference in the moral and family background of those who eventually became drug addicts and those who did not. (Tennant, 1974. Childhood antecedents of alcohol and drug abuse.)

Therefore, we advance the following hypothesis: In places where drug abuse is epidemic, it appears that four factors which do not necessarily depend on adverse social conditions nor individual psychopathology must be present. Drug abuse depends on: (1) the availability of drugs; (2) the opportunity to experiment with drugs; (3) the personal decision to experiment, leading to the consequence: (4) the psycho-physiological reactions to the drug. (See graph.)

(1) Availability of drugs: It is obvious that in places where drugs can only be obtained with great difficulty, there is very little abuse. But where drugs are easily available, there is an increase in

FACTORS DETERMINING DRUG ABUSE


AVAILABILITY OF DRUGS
OPPORTUNITY TO EXPERIMENT WITH DRUGS
DECISION TO EXPERIMENT WITH DRUGS
REACTION TO THE DRUGS: PSYCHO-PHYSIOLOGICAL REWARD

experimentation by people who otherwise would never have used them. An illustration of this is the drug abuse found in the medical profession. There are very few addicts in professional groups with the exception of the medical and paramedical professions. Physicians, nurses, pharmacists and lab technicians contribute far more than their reasonable share to the population of addicts. Of course, they have easy access to drugs thus proving that a correlation exists between the availability of drugs and an increase in abuse. It can even be correlated with this study. In the lower class sample sixty-two per cent stated that drugs were easily available in their neighborhood and forty-two per cent had experimented whereas in the island-rural sample only seventeen per cent said that drugs

were easily available and only seven per cent had experimented.

(2) Opportunity to experiment with drugs: There is a proverb that says: The virtuous are those who never were tempted." In general, drug users were all tempted into trying drugs, meaning that the opportunity to try drugs presented itself without them actively searching for it. True, there might have been an initial interest and curiosity, but in most cases people don't intentionally seek out the opportunity to try drugs. The majority of people will never be faced with the temptation to use drugs. They are shielded by social circumstances from the opportunity of drug initiation and in this way have avoided the problem. Youths from middle and upper class conventional homes are generally socially protected from drug access. Their leisure time activities and friendship patterns are much more supervised. The fact that drug abusers are so despised in their class also acts as a deterrent. However, the counterculture of the sixties has weakened this deterrent and broken barriers between young people of different social background who today tend to use the same recreational facilities and mingle more freely. Peer groups are crossing class lines. This is how drug behavior has moved from the lower class on up. The fact that many youngsters had their first drug experience between 14-17 doesn't mean that today we have a lot of sick adolescents in our society. Instead it means that we have a lot of adolescents with more mobility than in the past.

Individuals in lower socioeconomic circumstances run a greater risk of being introduced to drug use because they often live in areas infested with drugs. It is not necessarily the misery or dispair of

living in slums or public housing which pushes a person to use drugs. Rather it is the relatively easy access to drugs in a world surrounded by addicts and pushers and little police control. This is so since the addict-pusher by necessity actively seeks new recruits. Also, dwellers of deprived neighborhoods live in a world more tolerant to social deviation and to drug abuse than the rest of society.

Another illustration of the importance of this factor of opportunity to experiment with drugs is the high rate of drug abuse which occurred among United States soldiers in Vietnam. Drugs were plentiful, of good quality, inexpensive and actively peddled. Consequently, the rate of abuse and addiction was much higher than at any time and at any place in the world where the United States Armed Forces have been stationed.

Likewise in this study, in the rural island sample seven per cent stated they had the opportunity of experimenting with drugs and the same number did and in the combined two urban samples thirty-seven per cent had the opportunity and thirty-six had tried.

(3) Decision to experiment with drugs: To an offer of drugs some individuals will say yes and some will say no. There are so many factors which can influence this strictly personal decision that we cannot really state that the emotionally unstable person will say yes and the normal and healthy-minded will say no. It depends first on the social group to which he belongs. If such behavior is very contradictory to the norms of his social group, there might be some personality problem. It depends also on the age of the individual, his maturity, his

impulsiveness, his understanding of the consequences of his act, etc.

As was mentioned before, in places where the abuse of drug is a relatively new phenomenon, the more rebellious and emotionally unstable are the first to ignore the social norms and experiment with drugs. In contrast, in places where drug abuse is rampant, the decision to join in and try is not necessarily a manifestation of an underlying character disorder.

Indeed, whatever triggers the decision to try drugs is very personal. It could be a carefully thought-out decision as well as a reckless hasty one. Some of the motives and conditions which appear to be associated with drug initiation are: (1) curiosity; (2) hedonism, or seeking the 'high' one hears so much about; (3) sense of adventure, of daring, looking for excitement or escaping from boredom; (4) desire to imitate the others, to achieve a sense of belonging, to be 'in', to be accepted or yielding to other peer-group pressures. All the above-mentioned motives can be considered normal behavior for today's young people.

However, there are some causes and conditions leading to drug initiation which can be considered pathological: These are: (1) membership in a deviant subculture such as a gang; (2) delinquent-deviant personality tendencies; (3) hostile attitude, a desire to defy authority and convention; (4) the desire to escape psychological distress and; (5) auto-destruction, using drugs as a timorous form of suicide.

In summary the reasons can vary widely from the normal to the pathological. So far no one has convincingly demonstrated that there

is a significant difference between individuals who refuse to experiment with drugs and those who accept. We feel that any normal person is liable to accept initiation if the circumstances are right for him.

(3) The psycho-physiological reactions to the drug: Once the person tries the drug, he sets into motion a chain of physiological and psychological reactions beyond his own control. Thus a chemical agent, rather than the individual's personality is the key to what is going to happen and what happens depends on the reaction of the individual's organism. Everybody has a distinct metabolism, and gratification is thought to be primarily a physiological reaction. Some individuals will react negatively to the drug, others will react neutrally in the sense that it is neither a rewarding nor an unrewarding experience while for the rest it will be a pleasurable experience. Chein in his famous book The Road to H distinguishes four types of persons who abuse drugs: (1) those who experiment once and stop; (2) those who use drugs occasionally but don't become addicts; (3) those who become addicts but are capable of breaking their addiction and; (4) those who become chronic addicts. This last group apparently has a greater need for the narcotic effects. (Chein, 1964, p. 149) It is believed that the number of persons who have experimented with drugs once or a few times is much higher than is known yet the majority of them sooner or later abandon the use of drugs. Even among the abusers of heroin, a highly addictive drug, it is thought that only one out of three becomes an addict. Thus our concern is for that minority to whom drugs represent a high reward. A question which has not yet been satisfactorily answered is why only

a small percentage of the individuals exposed to drugs join the ranks of the addicts.

Any highly gratifying activity turns rapidly into a habit. Is this habit of psychological origin or does it come from a metabolic change enhanced by a genetic predisposition? According to WHO, recent research suggests that individual genetic and biological differences may affect the probability both of becoming drug dependent and of experiencing adverse drug effects. Dr. Maurice Seevers, in his experiments with addicted monkeys at the University of Michigan has demonstrated what a powerful physiological reward opiates can be. Drug dependence can be produced in rats and monkeys with self-injection systems permitting the animals to voluntarily take their own drug. The animals become addicted, manifest withdrawal symptoms and exhibit drug seeking behavior, preferring drug to food even when hungry. Sometimes they even drug themselves to death if allowed. Once detoxified they don't forget the drug experience easily, the memory of the experience remains in the body system. Dr. Seevers concluded that after experiencing the euphoric effects of certain drugs, more persons would become drug dependent if drugs were easily available. (See Seevers, 1966.)

Dr. Dole and Dr. Nyswander who founded the methadone maintenance treatment program developed the hypothesis that drug dependence is the manifestation of a permanent metabolic lesion brought about by the repeated abuse of a drug, thus creating a permanent craving for the drug. The so-called psychological dependence has in reality a physiological basis which explains why a detoxified addict still has a craving for

the drug and why psychological therapy has such a high rate of failure (around 90%).

To recapitulate this alternative explanation of the etiology of drug abuse: drug abuse depends on the availability of drugs and the opportunity of using such drugs. The decision to experiment is very personal and not necessarily deviant. The result is a psycho-physiological reaction to the drug beyond the control of the user: those to whom drugs are highly rewarding become drug dependent.

In conclusion we feel that in Puerto Rico as elsewhere there has been an overemphasis on the psychological origin of drug abuse. The key is not necessarily found in the personality of the addict. While recognizing that there are psychological aspects to drug abuse, we feel that this angle has been given too much attention to the detriment of the physiological aspects of drug abuse. Like alcoholics who react more sensitively to the effect of alcohol, drug abusers perhaps are persons who constitutionally react more euphorically to the effects of drugs and eventually lose control over their consumption. In summary, drug abusers are individuals who for some reason, normal or abnormal, have fallen into drug dependence and in consequence suffer from a physical illness.

CONCLUSION

In Puerto Rico we never really had a true counterculture although youths were interested in the movement and imitated it superficially. Nonetheless, the counterculture accelerated the normal process of social change. In this respect it had an overall influence on the attitudes and activities of Puerto Rico's youth, more specifically in the domain of charismatic cults, drug experimentation and sexual liberation.

1. Summary of findings

1. The overwhelming majority of the youths consider their family life satisfactory while advocating moderate changes in the family system. Home discipline is lenient and demands are few. Family-shared activities tend to become more and more shallow.

2. As for attitudes toward society, youths recognize the socio-economic crisis occurring in Puerto Rico today and feel a need for change but are not impatiently rebellious against authority. Most of them view adulthood in conventional terms of job, marriage and children without being fully aware of the responsibilities involved. They are all highly respectful of religion. There is an attraction to charismatic religious movements and Caribbean cults for those among the masses. As to their cultural identity, two-thirds have no qualms about the particular relationship with the United States whereas one third tends to Puerto Rican nationalism..

3. Most youths view education primarily as a means to earn a living in the future, rather than a way to enrich their lives. They are aware of the shortcomings of the education they are receiving and

advocate reforms from gradual to drastic ones. The school functions also as a social center where friendships are made. This is much appreciated by the students. The major complaints are the commonplace ones about facilities, fellow-students and teachers. Very few complain about the lack of excellence. Few seem preoccupied seriously about future plans and coming adulthood.

4. Likewise in the use of leisure time we find easy going youths participating in various activities superficially with little dedication to a sport, hobby, musical instrument or other creative ability. They are not particularly occupied. The amount of time devoted to study and reading is lower than that of the average European student and involvement in sports, mechanical hobbies and working is lower than that of North American youths. However, participation in non-organized social activities is high. There is a disturbing number of hours spent in front of a TV set. One cannot help but conclude that it would be far more beneficial to our youth if they spent these hours reading good books or perfecting a skill through a creative hobby. Friendship patterns show less generational gap than in the United States. Many a youth doesn't mind spending part of his time with family members or other adults and is less exclusive about being only with people of his own age. Very few are without friends. Their exterior appearance is attractive with no significant differences between class groups.

5. The attitude toward sexual liberation, while probably more progressive than in other Latin American countries, is more conservative than among North American youths but the trend is toward liberali-

zation. Our youths are not particularly materially ambitious preferring psychological to material rewards, contrary to prevailing opinion. More than two-thirds have university ambitions and the grade of optimism for the future is high, in marked contrast to the economic prospects of Puerto Rico.

As to youth and drug experimentation in Puerto Rico, this study finds:

6. Twenty-eight per cent of our youth admit having experimented with soft drugs. If the figure is correct (although it appears understated), it is lower than the results of similar surveys done in the United States.

7. Drug experimentation is higher in urban areas and in the lower class.

8. The attitude of youth toward drug experimentation is less liberal than was expected.

9. There is no significant difference in attitudes and personal background between those who experimented with drugs and those who had not.

10. The hypothesis that the availability of drugs and the opportunity to experiment with drugs leads to drug experimentation was proven correct; thus, the assumption is that drug usage is not necessarily the result of personal problems but responds to other factors which are not usually considered pathological.

2. Recommendations

1. The danger of experimentation with soft drugs has been over-

dramatized. Whether we like it or not, it is part of the life style of the youth of today. This study recommends the de-criminalization of marihuana laws in order to put this problem in its proper perspective. That is, to separate it from the abuse of heroin and other dangerous drugs which is a different phenomenon. Furthermore, all the resources the Government is spending on prevention, detection, prosecution and dubious rehabilitation would be more productive if directed toward the creation of jobs for the young people of our society.

2. More emphasis should be given to physical education and sport training. Many developing countries and socialist countries are doing better than we are in channeling the natural energy of their youth into positive activities. Such training reaps the following benefits: (1) it develops personal discipline; (2) it encourages groups spirit and civic sense; (3) it foments healthy life habits; and (4) it keeps youth occupied in beneficial activities. Every school on the island should have a well-equipped health and physical education department with a full-time well-trained teacher. The University of Puerto Rico is in the right direction with its brand new Center of Physical Education. Just walk around the new gymnasium and see how spirited and enthusiastic the students are; then go to the library and see how bored they are. Unfortunately, a minority of the students are intellectually inclined and would be more useful in technical skills. However, we insist on giving a university education to everybody with the resulting mediocrity and the frustration of failures for so many.

3. In view of the unrealistic aspirations of so many youths (68

per cent wanting to go to the University) in contrast to the socioeconomic reality of Puerto Rico, it is recommended that priority should be given to vocational training over university instruction. University graduates tend to feed an already bloated government bureaucracy. Those who cannot find employment in Puerto Rico emigrate.* How many university graduates does Puerto Rico need? As the famous anthropologist Margaret Mead says so well:

> "The assumption that all people will be alike if treated alike is a 'sham', a hypocrisy of the worst sort that has been destroying an awful lot of people. The assumption is if you give people equal opportunity they can do the same thing with it." (Justice Department Equal Opportunity Project hearing. 1976)

The life style of the youths of Puerto Rico could be of better quality for they enjoy considerable material advantages over the generation of their parents and over many of the youths of the world today. However, to a large extent they reflect the way their parents have brought them up and what the institutions of our society, school and government are doing to help improve the quality of their lives.

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* There is evidence that since 1970, a growing number of island graduates are seeking and obtaining professional and higher level white collar jobs in the United States especially in the tri-state region of New York, New Jersey and Connecticut. Their number is difficult to assess since they are included in a general category of University graduates with Spanish surnames.

This new trend in the migration of Puerto Rican university graduates would be worthwile investigating more thoroughly.

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APPENDIX

QUESTIONNAIRE

UNIVERSIDAD DE PUERTO RICO
Centro de Investigaciones Sociales

Cuestionario Estilos Culturales en la Juventud Puertorriqueña

Escuela _____ Código _____ ( ) 1

#Tarjeta _____ ( ) 2 ( ) 3 ( ) 4 ( ) 5

1. Año de nacimiento: 19.. Edad _____ ( ) 6 ( ) 7

2. Ocupación de tu padre o encargado: _____ ( ) 8 ( ) 9

3. Has pasado los diez primeros años de tu vida en ...

   Zona Metropolitana ☐ 1

   La Isla ☐ 2

   Fuera de Puerto Rico ☐ 3 ( ) 10

4. ¿Quién te crió?

   Padre y Madre ☐ 1

   Madre solamente ☐ 2

   Encargado (a): familiares ☐ 3

   Encargado (a): no familiares ☐ 4 ( ) 11

5. Consideras este período de crianza ...

   Feliz ☐ 1

   Bastante feliz ☐ 2

   No tan feliz ☐ 3

   Problemático ☐ 4 ( ) 12

6. Dirías que las relaciones ahora entre tus padres o encargados y tú son ...

Bastante felices	☐ 1	
Aceptables	☐ 2	
Problemáticas	☐ 3	( ) 13

7. Tienes ...

Un amigo que consideras tu mejor amigo	☐ 1	
Buena amistad con varios amigos	☐ 2	
Ninguna amistad en especial	☐ 3	( ) 14

8. Tienes ...

Una amiga en especial	☐ 1	
Amistad con varias muchachas	☐ 2	
Ninguna amistad de muchachas en especial	☐ 3	( ) 15

9. ¿Qué países has visitado fuera de Puerto Rico?

Países que he visitado _____	☐ 1	
_____		
_____		
_____		
No he salido fuera de Puerto Rico	☐ 2	( ) 16

10. Hoy se discute mucho sobre la vida familiar. ¿Cuál de las aseveraciones siguientes se acerca más a lo que tú crees?

La familia debe permanecer como está; quizás cambiar algunas cosas. ☐ 1

La familia es una forma anticuada de vivir juntos, debe permitir más libertad. ☐ 2

La vida familiar debe ser completamente reconstruída porque no se adapta al estilo de vida de hoy. ☐ 3

La vida familiar debe permanecer como está. ☐ 4 ( ) 17

11. ¿Qué cosas acostumbras hacer junto a tu familia y/o familiares?

	1. A Menudo	2. A Veces	3. Nunca		
Ver televisión				1	( ) 18
Tocar o escuchar música				2	( ) 19
Participar en la reparación del carro, de la casa, arreglo del jardín, etc.				3	( ) 20
Discutir asuntos familiares y personales				4	( ) 21
Discutir asuntos internacionales y de Puerto Rico				5	( ) 22
Asistir a espectáculos deportivos				6	( ) 23
Jiras y paseos dominicales				7	( ) 24
Visitar familiares				8	( ) 25
Ir a bailes, fiestas, cine, etc.				9	( ) 26
Asistir a la Iglesia (No conteste esta categoría si tu familia no va)				10	( ) 27

12. Te vamos a presentar una serie de situaciones donde generalmente, los padres opinan o intervienen. Nos gustaría saber en cada caso cuál es tu situación particular.

Situaciones	1. Intervienen	2. Opinan	3. No les preocupa		
Selección de amigos				1	( ) 28
Horas de salidas y llegadas				2	( ) 29
Uso del tiempo para estudiar				3	( ) 30
Uso de tiempo libre				4	( ) 31
Uso del dinero				5	( ) 32
Manera de vestir y peinarse				6	( ) 33
Opiniones políticas				7	( ) 34
Comer juntos				8	( ) 35
Ser cortés y respetuoso				9	( ) 36
Tu participación en tareas del hogar				10	( ) 37

13. ¿Te sientes razonablemente contento de vivir con tu familia o encargados?

Si ☐ 1

No ☐ 2 ( ) 38

13a. Si contestas que no: ¿Por qué opinas así?

_____

_____

_____

_____

14. En general, cuando tienes algún problema prefieres acudir a ...

Madre	☐	1
Padre	☐	2
Ambos padres	☐	3
Hermanos (as)	☐	4
Familiares	☐	5
Amigos íntimos	☐	6
Maestros	☐	7
Otro ¿Quién? _____	☐	8

( ) 39

15. Hoy día la sociedad es más y más criticada por los jóvenes. ¿Cuál de las ideas siguientes se acerca más a lo que tú crees?

Nuestra sociedad está en una posición difícil, y todos los medios democráticos deben ser usados para concebir nuevos conceptos.	☐	1
Nuestra sociedad es buena, se deben detener todas las tentativas de cambiarla.	☐	2
Nuestra sociedad ha sido efectiva. Uno debe, sin embargo, considerar tentativas de modificarla.	☐	3
Solamente queda una salida de subversión si la autoridad no permite una revisión de esta sociedad imposible.	☐	4

( ) 40

16. Pensando en la importancia que tradicionalmente la religión tiene para la gente. La religión es para ti ...

Algo importante ya que me es de gran ayuda.	☐	1
Creo que es importante, pero la religión debe reformarse y ajustarse a las realidades de hoy.	☐	2
Soy indiferente a la religión.	☐	3
En el mundo moderno de hoy la religión es una institución arcaica que impide el progreso.	☐	4

( ) 41

17. La juventud puertorriqueña hoy día ha mostrado más y más inquietud hacia la identidad cultural de su país. ¿Cuál de las aseveraciones siguientes se acerca más a lo que crees?

Estoy orgulloso de los lazos de mi país con una nación tan importante como los Estados Unidos y de ser un ciudadano norteamericano. ☐ 1

Puerto Rico se ha convertido en una dependencia norteamericana debido a un accidente histórico, pero su verdadero destino cultural es hispano-americano. ☐ 2 ( ) 42

18. ¿Qué piensas de nuestra policía? Ellos representan ...

Un mal necesario ☐ 1

Seguridad ☐ 2

Represión ☐ 3

Son necesarios, pero son desafortunadamente incompetentes ☐ 4 ( ) 43

19. ¿Cuáles consideras tú los problemas de conflicto que tienes con la gente mayor? ( ) 44

_____

_____

_____ ( ) 45

20. La juventud eventualmente será adulta, ¿cuáles crees tú que serán los privilegios más importantes que tendrás cuando adulto? ( ) 46

_____

_____

_____ ( ) 47

21. Ahora vamos a discutir sobre la escuela. Dime, ¿cuál de las siguientes aseveraciones consideras que es la situación educacional?

La educación es buena y debe permanecer como está. Se deben prevenir los disturbios que rompen con el orden. ☐ 1

Al presente la educación busca producir solamente ciudadanos sumisos y consumidores para el sistema. ☐ 2

Si la educación desea cumplir con su meta es necesario una revisión bastante amplia del sistema. ☐ 3

El sistema educativo no está muy malo, pero nuevas ideas pueden ser beneficiosas. ☐ 4 ( ) 48

22. Vas a la escuela realmente ...

Por costumbre ☐ 1

Para prepararte a ganar la vida ☐ 2

Mis padres lo exigen ☐ 3

Los cursos me interesan ☐ 4

No sérealmente por qué ☐ 5 ( ) 49

23. Menciona los aspectos más positivos que le encuentras a tu escuela: ( ) 50

_____

_____

_____ ( ) 51

24. Menciona las fallas más obvias en tu escuela. ( ) 52

_____

_____

_____ ( ) 53

25. ¿A qué actividades dedicas tu tiempo libre fuera de la escuela?

	1. A Menudo	2. A veces	3. Nunca		
Participar en actividades deportivas				1	( ) 54
Observar actividades deportivas				2	( ) 55
Visitar amigos				3	( ) 56
Participar en grupos musicales				4	( ) 57
Participar en clubes y agrupaciones				5	( ) 58
Participar en manifestaciones políticas				6	( ) 59
Fiestas, bailes, discotecas				7	( ) 60
Jiras, paseos, playas				8	( ) 61
Escuchar música				9	( ) 62
Ver televisión				10	( ) 63
Ir al cine				11	( ) 64
Leer				12	( ) 65
Tiempo dedicado a pasatiempo, tales como, dibujar, colección etc. (hobbies)				13	( ) 66
Estudiar				14	( ) 67
Trabajar				15	( ) 68

26. Prefieres pasar tu tiempo libre .

Con tu familia y familiares ☐ 1

Parte del tiempo con tu familia y parte con tus amigos ☐ 2

Mayormente con amigos de tu edad ☐ 3 ( ) 69

27. Prefieres estar ...

Con grupos de jóvenes ☐ 1

Con personas más adultas y más maduras ☐ 2

Igual ☐ 3 ( ) 70

( ) 1

( )( ) ( ) ( ) 2 3 4 5

28. Ahora te vamos hacer una serie de preguntas con relación a la experimentación y uso de las drogas. En este sentido, ¿con cual de las aseveraciones sigientes está más de acuerdo tu actitud hacia este fenómeno?

Fumar marihuana en una fiesta de vez en cuando es parte aceptable del estilo de vida de la juventud de hoy. ☐ 1

Aunque yo no fumaría marihuana, no me preocupo que mis amigos lo hagan ☐ 2

Dejar la gente fumar marihuana y tomar pastillas tanto como quieran. Eso es asunto de ellos. ☐ 3

La marihuana es para personas débiles que no pueden afrontar sus problemas ☐ 4

Me opongo al uso de la marihuana bajo cualquier circunstancia. ☐ 5 ( ) 6

29. Según tu experiencia, ¿se consigue fácilmente la droga por donde tú vives o te mueves?

Si ☐ 1

No ☐ 2 ( ) 7

30. ¿Has tenido la ocasión de probar drogas que te han ofrecido sin que tú necesariamente las hayas aceptado?

Si ☐ 1

No ☐ 2 ( ) 8

31. Se dice que en Puerto Rico la mayoría de los jóvenes han experimentado en alguna u otra ocasión con drogas. Pensando en tu caso particular ¿con cuales de las drogas siguientes has experimentado?

	1. Si	2. No		
Marihuana	☐	☐	1	( ) 9
Sopor	☐	☐	2	( ) 10
Acido, L.S.D., mescalina	☐	☐	3	( ) 11
Cocaina	☐	☐	4	( ) 12
Heroina, morfina, etc.	☐	☐	5	( ) 13
Otra ¿cual? _____ (No incluye pega de cemento	☐	☐	6	( ) 14
Nunca he probado drogas			☐ 7	( ) 15

32. Si has experimentado con drogas, ¿qué edad tenías tuando experimentaste por primera vez con las mismas? ____ ☐ 1

No aplica ☐ 2 ( ) 16

33. Si has fumado marihuana, ¿cuántas veces has fumado?

Una vez ☐ 1

Algunas veces ☐ 2

A menudo ☐ 3

No aplica ☐ 4 ( ) 17

34. Si nunca has fumado marihuana y tuvieras una oportunidad apropiada de hacerlo, ¿lo harías?

Creo que si ☐ 1

Creo que no ☐ 2

No sé ☐ 3

No aplica ☐ 4 ( ) 18

35. ¿Cuál de las razones siguientes es la más válida para explicar el interés que la juventud tiene para probar drogas?

Ellos quieren estar a la moda, conocer la experiencia ☐ 1

Ellos buscan placer, bienestar o ponerse high ☐ 2

Ellos buscan una experiencia mística o inspiración ☐ 3 ( ) 19

36. ¿Cómo consideras que se está presentando el peligro de la droga a través de los periódicos, la radio, la T.V. y de los programas de prevención gubernamentales o privados? De manera ...

	1. Si	2. No		
Objetiva y realista			1	( ) 20
Ingenua			2	( ) 21
Efectiva			3	( ) 22
Sensacionalista			4	( ) 23
La realidad de la situación es a menudo distorsionada			5	( ) 24
Convincente			6	( ) 25
A veces absurda			7	( ) 26
Tienen un efecto indiferente en la juventud			8	( ) 27
Quizás estimula la curiosidad hacia la experimentación con drogas			9	( ) 28

Ahora para terminar vamos hacerte unas preguntas en torno a los estilos de vida, actitudes y aspiraciones de la juventud de hoy.

37. En términos de música popular, ¿qué tipo de música prefieres?

Música salsa ☐ 1

Música popular latina (Ej.: Sofie, Lissette, etc.) ☐ 2

Música Rock Americana (Ej.: Elton John, Rolling Stones "Yes", etc.) ☐ 3

No tengo preferencia particular ☐ 4 ( ) 29

38. Mi cantante popular puertorriqueño preferido es ... ( ) 30

_____

39. Mi grupo favorito de música rock norteamericana es ... ( ) 31 ( ) 32

_____ ( ) 33

40. ¿Cuál es tu actitud hacia los movimientos religiosos de la juventud? (Ej.: Hare Krishna, "Cristo Viene")

Mi actitud es de indiferencia ☐ 1

Los encuentro absurdos ☐ 2

Pienso que contribuyen positivamente ☐ 3

Estoy bastante interesado como para participar en estos movimientos ☐ 4 ( ) 34

41. ¿Qué grado de interés tienes en el ocultismo (lo que va más allá del pensamiento racional y realista Ej.: la astrología, la parasicología, espiritismo, la santería, las religiones exóticas).

Me interesa mucho ☐ 1

Me interesa un poco ☐ 2

Me es indiferente ☐ 3

Me opongo a este tipo de cosa ☐ 4 ( ) 35

42. De estos tres (3) estilos de vida tú escogerías ...

Una quinta lujosa con un carro último modelo y todas las comodidades que se puedan comprar a través de un negocio que ocupe la mayoría de mi tiempo y energía en actividades rutinarias y a menudo aburridas ☐ 1

Un apartamiento pequeño con el uso de un carro de vez en cuando y acceso limitado de las comodidades de la sociedad moderna con un trabajo creativo e interesante que me produzca satisfacción personal pero que uso mucho de mi tiempo. ☐ 2

Un trabajo por mi cuenta que solamente supla mis necesidades básicas y me deje mucho tiempo libre para dedicárselo a mis amigos y a las cosas que dan placer y cuestan poco dinero. ☐ 3 ( ) 36

43. Para ti es ...

Más importante vivir y gozar del presente sin planificar demasiado para el futuro ☐ 1

Más importante hacer unos sacrificios en el presente para realizar las aspiraciones futuras ☐ 2 (.) 37

44. Hay una controversia sobre la actitud permisiva de ciertos sectores de la juventud en cuanto a las relaciones sentimentales y sexuales entre una pareja. Tu modo de pensar al respecto se acerca más a ...

Hay dos tipos de mujeres: Una sería que es para ser esposa y otra que es para salir con ella y "vacilar". La primera es propia para casarse; la segunda no ☐ 1

Una mujer tiene la libertad de su cuerpo, pero una vez casada debe serle fiel a su marido ☐ 2

Hoy día las mujeres al igual que los hombres tienen derecho a la libertad de su cuerpo aunque estén casadas o vivan juntos porque esta libertad a largo plazo no afecta el amor y la comprensión entre dos seres humanos maduros y es más compatible con los instintos fisiológicos. ☐ 3

Aspiraciones Futuras

45. ¿Qué piensas hacer luego de graduarte?

Seguir estudiando 1. Universidad ☐ 1

2. Universidad fuera de P.R. ☐ 2

3. Vocacional o técnico ☐ 3

Buscar trabajo en Puerto Rico ☐ 4

Buscar trabajo en Estados Unidos ☐ 5

Ingresar al ejército ☐ 6

Trabajar en negocio de la familia ☐ 7

Me gustaría viajar y encontrarme a mi mismo ☐ 8

No tengo planes todavía ☐ 9

(Puedes hacer comentarios) _____

_____

46. ¿Qué oportunidades crees tienes de poder realizar estos planes?

Mucha	☐ 1	
Bastante	☐ 2	
Poca	☐ 3	( ) 40

MUCHAS GRACIAS POR COMPARTIR TUS IDEAS CON NOSOTROS ¡EXITO Y SUERTE A TU VIDA DE ADULTO!

VITA

Roland Wingfield was born in the United States. He received his elementary and secondary education in France and Switzerland. After serving two years with the U.S. Marine Corps in China, he studied at Columbia University, transferring later on to Louisiana State University, where he was awarded a doctorate in sociology-anthropology in 1965.

Professor Wingfield has taught in Louisiana, Haiti, Tunisia and Mexico. He has traveled widely.

At present, Dr. Wingfield is Professor of Sociology and Anthropology at the University of Puerto Rico. He has also worked for three years with the Narcotic Commission of Puerto Rico.